

June 25, 1991

**SECRET**

Fifth Revision  
April 3, 1962

( ) DOWNGRADE TO ( ) DRAFT PRINCIPLES, PROCEDURES, AND INTERIM STEPS  
(Amended to Reflect Geneva Discussions. New Language Underlined)

The parties have discussed certain issues related to the reduction of tensions and the strengthening of peace. They have sought to deal with these issues in a way which would accomplish two things:

First, it would create a useful framework for continuing negotiations concerning aspects of these issues on which differences remain to be resolved. To this end, the parties have agreed in regard to each of the issues under discussion: (i) on general principles, which will serve as a basis for continuing negotiations, and (ii) on procedures to govern these continuing negotiations. In this connection, a Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies will be established which France and the UK will be invited to join.

Second, it would permit them to take interim action concerning urgent aspects of these issues on which the parties are already of the same view. To this end, the parties have agreed on certain interim steps to deal with aspects of these issues that pose immediate dangers. These interim steps do not purport to settle the questions for all time but they are needed to meet pressing problems until more comprehensive agreements can be reached in the above-mentioned negotiations.

There follows, therefore, in regard to each of the issues under discussion, a statement of (i) general principles to serve as a basis for future negotiations; (ii) procedures for these future negotiations; (iii) interim steps to be taken in the meantime.

## 1. Berlin

(a) General Principles: They agree that the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies should, in its continuing negotiations, take account of the general principles that, pending the reestablishment of German unity:

- (i) West Berlin should be free to choose its own way of life;
- (ii) the parties should undertake to respect the social order that has taken shape therein;
- (iii) its viability -- including the stability and prosperity of its economy -- should be maintained.

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(iv) Unrestricted communication will be assured between West Berlin and West Germany in a manner which respects the functions, activities, and prerogatives of the competent authorities and which permits the competent authorities in West Berlin to determine who may or may not enter West Berlin. Subject to the foregoing, an International Access Authority should be established to perform specified functions in order to ensure this unrestricted communication.

(b) Future Negotiations: They agree to study proposals relating to West Berlin in an effort to reach agreements which would give effect to these principles in a way consistent with the vital interests of all parties in the aforementioned Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies.

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime, they declare that access procedures in effect on January 1, 1962, will remain in effect. Rules and regulations of the competent authorities, including sanitary laws and regulations, which the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies agrees are compatible with the principle of free access between West Berlin and West Germany, will be respected. Included among procedures in effect on January 1, 1962, is the fact that transit will proceed along the same communication routes presently used, and will be subject to compliance with the existing procedures, whereby:

(i) transit vehicles and their passengers are not allowed to deviate from the established transit routes;

(ii) passengers in transit are not allowed to go beyond the limits of the communications routes used for transit;

(iii) passengers in transit are prohibited from giving or receiving any articles; and

(iv) no one may board vehicles in transit to Berlin.

They also declare that they will seek agreement of the authorities in West and East Berlin to establish an all-Berlin technical commission, to be composed of officials appointed by the Governments of West Berlin and of East Berlin, to deal with such matters as the handling of traffic, sewage, and public utilities.

## 2. Germany

(a) General Principles: They believe that the Germans have the right to determine their own future, and they wish to facilitate the exercise of this right in a way that will enhance the security of the European peoples. . . . .

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(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime they declare they will insure that in any arrangements into which any of them may enter with any part of Germany account will be taken of the provisions in this paper agreed by the parties in advance, except to the extent that these provisions may be modified by agreement such as may result from the continuing negotiations within the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies.

(a) General Principles: They believe that further diffusion of nuclear weapons into the control of national governments not now owning them would make more difficult the problem of maintaining lasting peace.

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime, as states now owning nuclear weapons, they declare they will not themselves relinquish control over any nuclear weapons to any individual state or regime not now owning such weapons; including any state or regime exercising functions within the area referred to in 4.(c) below; they will not transmit to such state or regime information, equipment, or material necessary for their manufacture; and they will urge states or regimes not now owning nuclear weapons to undertake not to try to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other states or to seek or receive information, equipment, or material necessary for their manufacture.

(a) General Principles: They believe that force should not be used to change existing frontiers and demarcation lines in Europe or for any other aggressive purpose.

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(1) to develop a suitable declaration which the NATO and Warsaw Pact Organizations might make to register their renunciation of the use of force for the settlement of international questions, and, specifically, the renunciation of the use of force to change existing boundaries and demarcation lines in Europe, and,

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime they declare they will not themselves use or support the use of force to change the external and internal borders of Germany including the existing borders of West Berlin, and they note with approval declarations by German authorities in the same sense.

(a) The parties note with approval declarations by the competent German authorities, assuring their allies that they will act in conformity with the above provisions regarding access and other matters relevant to their functions and prerogatives.

(b) Once the proposed Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies has been established: (i) the Foreign Ministers of the countries represented on it would meet periodically as seems useful to review its work; (ii) if and as warranted, the Heads of Government could meet to consummate concrete agreements reached by the Foreign Ministers and their Deputies in the proposed Committee.

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Following is/text of "Draft Principles, Procedures, and Interim Steps"

referred to in immediately preceding telegram.

## PRAMBLE

The parties have discussed certain issues related to the reduction of tensions and the strengthening of peace. They have sought to deal with these issues in a way which would accomplish two things: }

First, it would create a useful framework for continuing negotiations concerning aspects of these issues on which differences remain to be resolved. To this end, the parties have agreed in regard to each of the issues under discussion: (i) on general principles, which will serve as a basis for continuing negotiations, and (ii) on procedures to govern these continuing negotiations. In this connection, a Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies will be established which France and the UK will be invited to join.

Second, it would permit them to take interim action concerning urgent aspects of these issues on which the parties are already of the same view. To this end, the parties have agreed on certain interim steps to deal with aspects of these issues that pose immediate dangers. These interim steps do not purport to settle the questions for all time, but they are needed to meet

pressing

**Drafted by**

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### Telegraphic transmission and

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GR - Haupt In J. K. Kienbrand

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pressing problems until more comprehensive agreements can be reached in the above-mentioned negotiations.

There follows, therefore, in regard to each of the issues under discussion, a statement of (i) general principles to serve as a basis for future negotiations; (ii) procedures for these future negotiations; (iii) interim steps to be taken in the meantime.

1. Berlin

(a) General Principles: They agree that the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies should, in its continuing negotiations, take account of the general principles that, pending the reestablishment of German unity:

- (i) West Berlin should be free to choose its own way of life;
- (ii) the parties should undertake to respect the social order that has taken shape therein;
- (iii) its viability -- including the stability and prosperity of its economy -- should be maintained.
- (iv) Unrestricted communication will be assured between West Berlin and West Germany. Subject to the foregoing, an International Access Authority should be established to perform specified functions in order to ensure this unrestricted communication.

(b) Future Negotiations: They agree to study proposals relating to Berlin in an effort to reach agreements which would give effect to these principles in a way consistent with the vital interests of all parties in the aforementioned Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies.

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(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime, they declare that access procedures in effect on January 1, 1962, will remain in effect. Rules and regulations of the competent authorities which the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies agrees are compatible with the principle of free access between West Berlin and West Germany, will be respected. Included among procedures in effect on January 1, 1962, is the fact that transit will proceed along the same communication routes presently used, and will be subject to compliance with the existing procedures, whereby:

(i) transit vehicles and their passengers are not allowed to deviate from the established transit routes;

(ii) passengers in transit are not allowed to go beyond the limits of the communications routes used for transit;

(iii) passengers in transit are prohibited from giving or receiving any articles; and

(iv) no one may board vehicles in transit to Berlin.

They also declare that they will seek the agreement of the authorities in West and East Berlin to establish an all-Berlin technical commission to be composed of officials appointed by the authorities in West and East Berlin to deal with such matters as the facilitation of the movement of persons, transport, and goods between West and East Berlin, and the regulation of public utilities and sewage.

## 2. Germany

(a) General Principles: They believe that the Germans have the right to determine their own future, and to reestablish the unity of Germany, if they so desire, and they wish to facilitate the exercise of this right in a way that will enhance the security of all European peoples.

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(b) Future

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(b) Future Negotiations: They agree that the authorities in West and East Germany should be invited to establish three mixed technical commissions, consisting of officials designated by these authorities, to increase cultural and technical contacts, to promote mutually beneficial economic exchanges, and to consider a draft electoral law or other steps toward German reunification, respectively.

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime they declare they will insure that in any arrangements into which any of them may enter with any part of Germany account will be taken of the provisions in this paper agreed by the parties in advance, except to the extent that these provisions may be modified by agreement such as may result from the continuing negotiations within the Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies.

### 3. Nuclear Diffusion

(a) General Principles: They believe that further diffusion of nuclear weapons into the control of any national government not now owning them would make more difficult the problem of maintaining lasting peace.

(b) Future Negotiations: They agree to seek in the above-mentioned Committee (or other appropriate forum) to develop policies regarding non-diffusion of nuclear weapons to which all states owning nuclear weapons might agree and to which states not now owning nuclear weapons might also subscribe.

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime, as states now owning nuclear weapons, they declare they will not themselves relinquish control over any nuclear weapons to any individual state or regime not now owning such weapons; they will not transmit to such state or regime information, equipment, or material necessary for their manufacture; and they will urge states or regimes not now owning nuclear weapons to undertake not to try to obtain control of such weapons belonging to other states

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or to seek or receive information equipment, or material necessary for their manufacture.

4. Non-Aggression

(a) General Principles: They believe that force should not be used to change existing frontiers and demarcation lines in Europe or for any other aggressive purpose.

(b) Future Negotiations: With a view toward strengthening peace and security, they agree to seek in the above-mentioned Committee (or a Sub-committee thereof):

(i) to develop a suitable declaration which the NATO and Warsaw Pact Organizations might make to register their renunciation of the use of force for the settlement of international questions, and, specifically, the renunciation of the use of force to change existing boundaries and demarcation lines in Europe, and,

(ii) to consider measures to reduce the risk of war by accident or miscalculation.

(c) Interim Steps: In the meantime they declare they will not themselves use or support the use of force to change the external and internal borders of Germany including the existing borders of West Berlin, and they note with approval declarations by German authorities in the same sense.

5. Procedures

(a) The parties note with approval declarations by the competent German authorities, assuring their allies that they will act in conformity with the above provisions regarding access and other matters relevant to their functions and prerogatives.

(b) Once the proposed Committee of Foreign Ministers' Deputies has been

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established: (i) the Foreign Ministers of the countries represented on it would meet periodically as seems useful to review its work; (ii) if and as warranted, the Heads of Government could meet to consummate concrete agreements reached by the Foreign Ministers and their Deputies in the proposed Committee.

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